

CPI(M) Must Stop Hate Campaign Against SUC

It seems that the CPI(M) leadership is determined to carry on a hate campaign on the basis of canard, slander and falsehood against our Party. The CPI(M) leadership alone knows what purpose it is serving. But we can say it for certain that it is sure to fail. For, falsehood does not pay in the long run. You can befool some persons for all time or all persons for some time but you cannot befool all persons for all time.

Of innumerable instances of canard, slander and falsehood indulged by the CPI(M) leadership against our Party in recent period we shall choose, for the purpose of this article, only two or three cases. We refer to the writings by Nibaran Chakraverty published in the issues dated 22nd and 29th May last in *Deshhita*. Mr. Chakraverty has fired his first shot against us in the following manner; "Shri Aravinda used to give Darshan to his disciples at the Pandichery Ashram once a year. SUC leader Shri Shibdas Ghosh had been assiduously maintaining this Aravinda-tradition all these years. But sudden departure from it is being noticed. Shri Shibdas Ghosh is now giving frequent Darshans and delivering sermons of new varieties. The Agmark SUC has started dancing to become Indian." This is a fair literal translation from his Bengali. In this comment Shri Chakraverty has, of course, shown no originality. He has taken his cue (even some terms) from Shri Promode Das Gupta.

The people can judge for themselves if it falls in the category of political criticism or not. It is not political criticism. It is not witty or humorous writing either. This is buffoonery, showing bad taste of the writer and cultural bankruptcy of the CPI(M) leadership. However, we shall still examine the comment by Shri Chakraverty on the anvil of truth and communist teachings. First, the comment is not factually correct. For, it is not a fact that previously Com. Ghosh used to appear in public to address meeting,

only once a year. He would address all important meetings (mass meetings, party workers meetings, trade union meetings, peasant organisers meetings, students meetings, youth meetings, cultural meetings etc., to mention only a few) organised by our Party and decided by it to be addressed by him. Thus, the departure from the usual practice, which Shri Chakraverty in his 'ingenuity' has tried to discover in Com. Ghosh's addressing the public meeting organised by the SUC on the occasion of Lenin's birth centenary (Chakraverty's comment relates to this meeting), is not real but an instance of hallucination from which he presumably suffers. Secondly, even if it is assumed for the sake of argument that Com. Ghosh would not address many public meetings, what's of that? Is it a disqualification of him? Shri Chakraverty perhaps does not know that revolutionary leaders, like Com. Ghosh, engaged in serious struggles to build a real revolutionary working class party hardly get so much time as to be able to address ordinary public meetings in scores in a year, as the leaders of the CPI(M) do. For, they have much more important and serious works to do. They have to create a group of professional revolutionaries to whom alone the leadership of the party can be entrusted, develop uniform process of thinking, uniform thinking and oneness in approach of the members of the party as a whole through constant common association and constant common

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CENTRE'S GAME IN ASSAM

(By a Staff Reporter)

Last year the people of Assam conducted a movement under the leadership of the Oil Refinery Sangram Parishad demanding the setting up of a second oil refinery in Assam along with a petro-chemical complex under the state sector. The movement forced the Congress Government at the Centre to negotiate with the Sangram Parishad.

When the victory of it was within sight, the movement was suddenly withdrawn, because of the soft attitude of the CPI and the PSP leadership towards the Indira Government against the strong view of the SUCI to continue the movement till the demand was met. The Central Government took advantage of this difference in the Sangram Parishad and practically bypassed the main demand for the installation of a second refinery. This back-stabbing of the movement by the CPI and the PSP leadership caused strong resentment among the people of the state. In the background of this, the decision of the eastern region authority of the ONGC to dismantle and remove some drilling rigs from Assam on the plea of

"insufficient number of locations for drilling" has further deepened the genuine apprehension of the people of Assam that the Union Government in connivance with the Congress Government in the state is going to reject the just demand for the establishment of the second refinery. Com. Ashit Bhattacharya, Secretary of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI at the last meeting of the Sangram Parishad on 7th June last pressed for the acceptance of a programme for an organised massive movement by the people. Because of stiff opposition by the CPI-PSP combination Com. Bhattacharya's proposal could not be passed. It was, however, decided to call a meeting of the general council of the Sangram Parishad on 12th July.

activities, steel them in communist education in every sphere of life including private life, remould their character, achieve ideological centralisation and organisational centralisation centring round this ideological centralisation and ensure the emergence of collective leadership of the party expressed in

concrete form through the leader of the highest collective unit, namely, the Central Committee of the party and other leaders at each corresponding level. Without this revolutionary struggle for the emergence of collective leadership in concretised form, no real Communist Party can

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WHY CLOSURE OF INDUSTRIES?

According to state Government figures, during the President's Rule in West Bengal from 20th March to 30th May, 46 industrial establishments closed down their business and another 26 locked out, involving about 30,000 workmen. Of these 50 concerns closed and locked out, 14 had, in the mean time, opened.

It has almost become a fashion on the part of some political parties to accuse the workers and employees for closure of mills and factories and economic stagnation in West Bengal. Gherao and 'labour indiscipline', according to these parties, account for all these ills. Now that there is hardly any Gherao or 'labour indiscipline' during the President's Rule why have so many concerns closed down their business? It cannot also be forgotten that during the Congress rule in West Bengal, not troubled by Gherao and 'labour indiscipline', as claimed by the Congress leaders, on an average 150 registered firms had gone into liquidation every year. So, there must be some other reasons for all these economic ills. And what are they?

Even bourgeois economists today cannot deny the stern reality that crisis is inherent in capitalist economy. The crisis is the manifestation of the basic contradiction of capitalism between the social character of production and capitalist appropriation of the fruits of production. In their move to push out their competitors from market by reducing the cost of production, achieve monopoly and reap maximum profit possible in the circumstances, individual capitalists improve technique, introduce large-scale operation, expand production and actually produce huge quantity of commodities. But under capitalism production is not for social consumption and improvement of the conditions of living of the people. Capitalist production is production

for sale; it is production of commodities for capitalist market in order to reap maximum profit possible under the circumstances. But owing to capitalist exploitation, the people under capitalism remain in a state of relative poverty, resulting in relative reduction of the effective demand for the commodities produced. Consequently, production always runs ahead of demand. This leads to capitalist crisis of overproduction. Overproduction does not mean that the people are not in need of the commodities produced; on the contrary, they very much want them to satisfy their needs. But they cannot purchase these commodities as they have not the power to do so. The expansion of capitalist production, therefore, is faced with the narrow limit of consumption by the people, leading to periodical crises.

Now in the absence of the relative stability of market, which world capitalist economy, in spite of its general crisis, used to enjoy till the Second World War, crisis has become more frequent, more prolonged, affecting more branches of industries. Tendency to decay and stagnation has increased. Like a drowning man catching at a straw to save his life, world capitalism at present more is and more taking recourse to artificial stimulation of increased defence production, in order to keep the industrial establishments running, temporarily stave off the mounting crisis of market and save itself. But this artificial stimulation, which is leading to a vicious

By The Way

Mr. B. K. Birla is reported to have told the correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* at Darjeeling that the "C.P.I(M) leader Mr. Jyoti Basu was very much sympathetic towards the management as he (Basu) was convinced that the Birlas were willing to pay fair wages to the workers. But despite his efforts the workers continued intimidation and all types of objectionable behaviour," Shri Basu severely castigated the class-collaborationist A.I.T.U.C leadership at the C.I.T.U rally at Calcutta. To be very sympathetic to the Birlas in the fight between the workers and the Birlas on the part of the C. P. I(M) leader is not class collaboration; it is perhaps intensification of class struggle for people's democratic revolution!

Two out of every three persons in India are illiterate and of the literates 82.2 per cent have read upto the middle standard. The National Board of Adult Education has supplied the figures. Thanks to the Congress for this stupendous advancement in adult education after about 23 years of independence.

In 1968-69 India imported pearls and other precious stones worth Rs. 27.13 crores from foreign countries. But the India Government, to save foreign exchange, has banned import of X-Ray films and many life-saving drugs, most of which are not even available here. For Heaven's sake don't be uncharitable to the Government. For, you should realise that the glamour of a few fair ladies in the higher echelon of ultra-modern society is many times more needed for the establishment of socialist pattern of society.

Frontier (in its issue dated 30th May last) wrote: "It is odd that the C. P. I(M) Members of Parliament from West Bengal who are parties to the agitation threat are busy lobbying in the Central Secretariat for getting the men of their choice appointed as the Inspector-General of Police, the Deputy Inspector-General, Intelligence, and the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta. The Centre cannot be expected to take the party seriously in these circumstances." What oddness is there in it? Rather this is "revolutionary" politics. Movement against the Centre can wait indefinitely but the appointment of the I P S, I C S officers of the C P I(M)'s choice cannot. For, without the appointment of these officers of choice how can the new CPI(M) recruits, budding "revolutionaries", whom lay public in their ignorance call anti-socials, be given protection.

circle of unbridled armament race, instead of easing the crisis, is, on the contrary, making it more acute.

This general picture of world capitalist economy applies equally to the capitalist economy of our country, except that a state of penury of the peasantry (other than the rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants, who constitute a small fraction of the peasantry as a whole), owing to inability and failure

of the ruling class to introduce radical land reforms, and unbelievably low wages, *en masse* retrenchment and lay-off of workers and employees, coupled with heavy burden of taxation and soaring prices of essential articles of life, have added to the intensity of the crisis of market. Like their counterparts in the advanced capitalist countries, the rulers of India also, as far as they can, are taking recourse to the

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FALSEHOOD SURE TO FAIL

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develop. The real proletarian revolutionary leaders, like Com. Ghosh, know that without a real Communist Party, there can be no revolution and, consequently, no emancipation of the exploited people from the yoke of bourgeois rule. That is why they devote all their time and energy to build the Party. Wherefrom will such leaders get unending time to address innumerable Press conferences and public meetings in the manner of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians, as the CPI (M) leaders have been doing? Thirdly, if the number of Press conferences and public meetings addressed is the yardstick for determining whether or not a particular leader is a proletarian revolutionary leader or a fellow-traveller of the Aravinda brotherhood then Stalin and Mao Tse-tung are sure to fall in the latter category. May we ask the CPI(M) leaders, how many Press conferences and public meetings did Stalin use to address every year? Certainly, not more than one or two. How many times has Mao Tse-tung been appearing to address public meetings? Certainly, not more than once or twice a year. Then, according to Promode Babu and Nibaran Chakraverty, Stalin followed Aravinda-tradition all through his life and Mao Tse-tung is still following it. Can there be anything more non-sensical than this?

We understand the difficulties of the CPI (M) leaders. They cannot think of any other work than addressing Press conferences and public meetings, issuing circulars to the party bodies and doing other bits of routine office works as and in the style the bureaucrats in government offices or commercial or industrial establishments do. If they do not address Press conferences and public meetings, time hangs heavy on them. It is for this reason that not addressing Press con-

ferences and public meetings appears to these leaders as leading an idle secluded life. No wonder, therefore, that the Nibaran Chakravertys will see Aravinda-tradition in Com. Ghosh's life. You, petty-bourgeois politicians masquerading as revolutionaries, you are absolutely wrong. You have not proper communist education; you are incapable of even comprehending the life Com. Shibdas Ghosh leads, a life which has nothing personal, absolutely nothing, not just non-possession of wealth and property (many of the CPI (M) leaders do not even satisfy this low standard) but a life of complete dedication to the cause of establishment of world communist society, a life in which complete identification of individual interests with social object has been fully achieved. If you are enamoured of addressing Press conferences and public meetings, you may have them to your hearts' content. We would not mind. But do not try to find your choice, your standard of leadership, your idea of communist character, etc. in the SUC. It is a fundamentally different type of party, a real revolutionary working class party.

The next shot of Nibaran Chakraverty towards us is as follows: "The SUC is a believer in the theory of leap, so from the lips of SUC leaders talks of socialist revolution had so long been coming out incessantly. But since their baptism into the school of the Right Communists, a change is coming to their thinking. Proof of it was found in the speech of Shri Shibdas Ghosh at the May 13 rally at Shaheed Minar. Setting about to speak on "the significance of Marxism-Leninism in the present international and political situation," he observed: "Instead of blindly following Marxism-Leninism the socialist revolution is to be materialised in the perspective of economic and political situation of

India." (Ananda Bazar, 17th May) All these years Shri Shibdas Ghosh and his disciples used to shout "socialist revolution," "socialist revolution." They have now added the words "in the perspective of political and economic situation of India." In the present situation this has become absolutely urgent for them. For, having joined the eight-party-combination of the Right Communists, it has become clear that, today or tomorrow, they have to accept the leadership of Ajoy Mukherjee of Bangla Congress. Hence, there is need of Indianising the theory of socialist revolution and in that case it will be possible to easily assemble under the banner of Ajoy Mukherjee on the plea of Indian political and economic situation." At the outset we like to make it clear that the reporting in the Ananda Bazar Patrika quoted by Nibaran Chakraverty is not correct. What Com. Ghosh said was not "blindly following Marxism-Leninism" as reported in the Ananda Bazar Patrika. It would be "blindly following what Marx or Lenin had said or written." Com. Ghosh, like all true proletarian revolutionary leaders, condemned the parroting by the so-called communists here of what communists abroad had said without analysing if they are suited to the concrete conditions obtaining in our country and emphasised on the essential necessity of integrating the general guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Indian revolution, of concretising Marxism-Leninism on the Indian soil for the success of the socialist revolution in our country. This is the only correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism. Do the CPI (M) leaders differ here? It seems, they do; otherwise why should Nibaran Chakraverty object to Com. Ghosh's call to make concrete analysis of concrete condi-

tions of India for the victory of our revolution? If independent elaboration of Marxism-Leninism according to concrete conditions of a country is against the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the opinion of the CPI (M) leadership then Lenin himself was anti-Leninist. For, he wrote: "We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an independent elaboration of Marx's theory is specially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only general guiding principles, which in particular, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia." (Our Programme) To the leaders of the undivided CPI, the divided CPI and the CPI(M), who have never used their brain to make concrete analysis of the concrete situation in India and depended blindly on foreign Communist Parties for the determination of the stage of revolution and of its strategy and tactics here, the idea of concretising Marxism-Leninism may come as a shock. But we are helpless. For, there is no other way of making our revolution victorious.

Now about the other points. According to Shri Chakraverty, the SUC is a "believer in the theory of leap." Because, "from the lips of the SUC leaders come talks of socialist revolution." It is thus clear that, in the opinion of the CPI(M) leadership, anybody who will talk of socialist revolution, is a believer of the theory of leap. If we accept this logic then Lenin himself becomes a believer in the theory of

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CPI(M)'s Left Opportunism Greater

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leap, as he spoke of socialist revolution after the February-March Revolution in Russia. One cannot but have genuine doubt about sanity of Shri Chakraverty!

If the alignment of social forces in a given country scientifically leads to the conclusion that the particular country is in the stage of socialist revolution then to talk of socialist revolution there is certainly not belief in the theory of leap. Rather, that would be the only correct line. After making concrete analysis of concrete conditions obtaining in India, the SUC has concluded that the immediate task of the Indian revolution is to overthrow the present bourgeois national state, concentrate state power in the hands of the revolutionary alliance of the workers, poor peasants and other exploited masses of the people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and complete the unaccomplished economic and social tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Thereafter with the further deepening of the revolution and just in accordance with the strength of the class-conscious and organised proletariat we should proceed to socialisation of various aspects of social life. Now since the political task of overthrowing a bourgeois national state by the revolutionary alliance of the workers, poor peasants and other exploited masses of the people under the leadership of the working class is the task of a socialist revolution and since this political task and, not immediate economic and social tasks, determines in the main the social character of a revolution, the Indian revolution in social character is a socialist revolution. This is the correct analysis of the Indian situation. We shall be obliged if the CPI(M) leadership can

show any mistake in this analysis. Indeed there is no mistake. How then can the charge of belief in the theory of leap be levelled against the SUC? If at the time when the British imperialists were ruling our country politically and India was in the bourgeois-democratic revolution (prior to August 15, 1947) any party would have adopted policies for socialist revolution then it would have been guilty of belief in the theory of leap. But the SUC had not done it. On the contrary, it was the Ranadive leadership of the then undivided CPI in the early thirties that blindly accepted the general programme of world Communist movement for socialist revolution adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International as the particular programme for the Indian revolution, (the contradiction between the general and the particular was completely lost sight of) tried to apply it here in toto, of course, wrongly, completely isolated the CPI from the national liberation movement then going on under the leadership of the Congress, calling it a reactionary movement, instead of isolating the national reformist bourgeois leadership and establishing working class leadership over the national liberation movement, formed the Anti-Imperialist League and the Red Trade Union as parallel organisations, thereby leaving the genuine anti-imperialist forces and the working class to the mercy of the national bourgeoisie and in the Trotskyite manner made a "leap into the air." The same Ranadive leadership is even now piloting the CPI(M). Thus, the charge of belief in the theory of leap by no means can be levelled against us.

Of late we have come across an unthinkable theoretical muddle on the part of

the CPI(M) leadership. We are referring here to the speech of Shri Promde Das Gupta as published in the *Ganasakti* dated 3rd May last. Nibaran Chakraverty had taken up the thread of Promode Babu's speech in his comment published in *Deshhita* dated 29th May last and in his characteristic ignorance slandered our Party. How can the SUC be a partner of the democratic front (the United Front) when it "believes" in socialist revolution? The SUC is speaking of developing mass movements and of raising them to higher and still higher pitch to create conditions for seizure of power by the people under the leadership of the proletariat. How can this call for democratic movements fit in with the SUC's policy of socialist revolution? This is the burden of the argument of the CPI(M) leadership. We admit, we really feel surprised at the colossal theoretical ignorance of the CPI(M) leaders, who are believed by the ranks of the party to be great theorists. We have already stated that our policy of socialist revolution is not based on our belief. It is the recognition of the reality in our country, is based on the present alignment of social forces here. To recognise this reality, to say that India is in the stage of socialist revolution does not mean nor does it presuppose that immediate call for seizure of power by the proletariat is to be given. The call for insurrection for seizure of power, be it in a people's democratic revolution or a socialist revolution, can be given only on the maturity of certain conditions. Till these conditions are mature and ready the call for insurrection for seizure of power has to wait. These conditions are not yet mature and ready in our country. So at present the tactical line will be to create these conditions. This

requires, in the concrete conditions obtaining in our country, the formation of a united front of the left and democratic parties, conduction of massive democratic movements throughout the length and breadth of the country against the common enemy, relentless ideological struggles to expose the non-revolutionary character and political bankruptcy of the compromising petty-bourgeois parties without, at the same time, disturbing the united movement against the common enemy, freeing the people from the influence of these parties and from parliamentary illusions, isolating them from the masses, establishment of political and organisational leadership of the real revolutionary working class party over the class and the masses of the people, formation and emergence of people's own organs of struggle and the formation of liberation army, etc. To create these conditions participation of the revolutionary working class party in democratic front and democratic movements is essential. From the trend of arguments of the CPI(M) leaders it seems that to them to come to the objective conclusion that India is in the stage of socialist revolution means to immediately call for insurrection and seizure of power regardless of whether the conditions for seizure of power are mature or not while to speak of people's democratic revolution means not to try for preparing conditions for seizure of power but to rotate in the circle of democratic movements for economic, political and social demands without any relation to the question of seizure of power for all time to come. No wonder, therefore, that ultra-left adventurism and right opportunism had been the history of this leadership and

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Danger in Democratic Movement

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the party under it—ultra-left adventurism during Ranadive leadership in the thirties and forties of the undivided CPI and right opportunism thereafter.

Shri Chakraverty has written of our baptism into the school of the "Right Communists". We request him not to pose as a great theoretician without reading the literatures of other parties. Study of our literatures will confirm conclusively that the SUC since its birth has been conducting relentless ideological struggles against revisionism of the undivided CPI and, after the division of that party, of the CPI and the CPI(M). Not only that the SUC has been fighting equally strongly against modern revisionism that has flooded the international communist movement since the Khrushchevites usurped the leadership of the CPSU. May we remind the CPI(M) leaders that when they had been showering praise in their characteristic blind and mechanical manner on Khrushchev, writing homilies in their organs saying "Khrushchev illumines the path", giving three cheers to him, as they had done to Stalin in the past and comfortably basking in the pleasing warmth of his "wise leadership", when no Communist Party, not even the Communist Party of China, thought it wise to criticise the revisionist line of the CPSU as presented by Khrushchev in its Twentieth Congress, the SUC took courage in both hands and carried struggles against modern revisionism of the Khrushchev leadership. To talk of our baptism "into the school of the Right CPI", in the circumstances, is a deliberate lie meant to befool the ranks of the CPI(M), develop hatred in them against the SUC by bracketing our Party with the CPI and stop the questions that are rising in the minds

of the ranks of the CPI(M) as a result of our ideological struggles against the CPI(M) leadership.

Shri Chakraverty has even discovered change in our stand because of our alleged "baptism into the school of the Right CPI." What is that change? According to the CPI(M) leadership, we had so long been saying only "socialist revolution"; now we had added the words "in the perspective of political and economic situation of India" with the purpose of "accepting the leadership" of and "assembling under the banner of Ajoy Mukherjee" of the Bangla Congress. We knew that the CPI(M) leaders did not read the literatures of other parties. The above comment of Shri Chakraverty once again confirms that reading of ours. We shall again request the CPI(M) leaders to go through our literatures, not only recent publications but literatures published about two decades back, for the purpose. They will find that it is no new addition. From its birth the SUC has been saying that without concrete analysis of concrete conditions in our country we cannot make our revolution victorious. Indeed how can a revolutionary working class party determine the stage of revolution, its strategy and tactics, of its country without taking into consideration the concrete political, economic, social conditions of the country, the tradition and customs, the mental make up of its people, etc.? This may appear to the CPI(M) leadership, that has never used its brain to independently analyse the Indian situation but, on the contrary, has depended blindly on some Communist Party abroad for it, as a new addition. But that is not the case.

The Promode Babus are putting Herculean labour to make our people believe that the SUC by this talk of con-

cretising Marxism-Leninism on the Indian soil is only creating grounds for accepting the leadership of Shri Ajoy Mukherjee in the eight-party-combination in order to carry campaign against communism. It is a pity that their labour is lost; the people know the SUC and have seen its activities; they, therefore, have refused to even take notice of this canard, slander and lie practised by the CPI(M). This may be one of the reasons of Shri Chakraverty's making comments like one who is mentally deranged. Yes, we are in the eight-party-combination. The Bangla Congress is still not in it. If the Bangla Congress accepts the line and programme of the eight-party-combination, it may be admitted into it. Then it will be a nine-party-combination. But will the CPI(M) leaders explain to the people how in that case it will mean the acceptance of Ajoy Babu's leadership by the SUC? Only a few months back the CPI(M) was in the United Front with the Bangla Congress as a constituent. Does it then mean that the CPI(M) then accepted the leadership of Shri Ajoy Mukherjee and was moving at that time under his leadership to make its people's democratic revolution successful? Certainly not. How then can the presence of the SUC in a combination of which the Bangla Congress may be a constituent be construed as an attempt by the SUC to accept the leadership of Ajoy Mukherjee and carry on anti-communist campaign? It cannot be so construed by any means. But still the CPI(M) is saying it. Because, slander and falsehood require no logic.

It may be asked why we are in the eight-party-combination and not in the CPI(M)'s so-called six-party-combination. In passing, the latter is no real combination of parties; the five parties other than the CPI(M) have no

independent role; they are satellite of the CPI(M), at the beck and call of the latter. But this is not the real point. Every communist knows that in the democratic movement both right opportunism and left opportunism appear as danger, sometimes the former posing a greater danger and sometimes the latter posing a greater danger. When right opportunism poses a greater danger in the democratic movement, the communists direct fire to a greater degree at it. And when left opportunism poses a greater danger, the communists direct their attack against it. At the present time, particularly in West Bengal, left opportunism of the CPI(M) poses a greater danger in the democratic movement, disrupting its unity. Hence, in the interest of development of democratic movements the left opportunist politics of the CPI(M) is to be defeated here. This is the bounden duty of every real communist. This is what Com. Subodh Banerjee on behalf of the SUC said, among others, in the mass meeting held under the auspices of the eight-party-combination at Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta, on the 24th May last. (By the way, there was an error in the reporting by the *Basumati* on this meeting. In the portion relating to Com. Banerjee's speech the words, "right reaction", appearing in the report should be "right opportunism.") Shri Chakraverty's comment as published in *Deshhita* dated 29th May has a reference to this speech by Com. Banerjee.

Shri Chakraverty has tried to paint this political criticism of the left opportunist politics of the CPI(M) by Comrade Banerjee as anti-communist campaign. The motive of the writer of the comment is obvious. The CPI(M) wants to pose itself as a genuine Communist Party and its

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CALL FOR PEASANT MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

(By a Staff Reporter)

The Chief Minister of Orissa is reported to have said that there would be no distribution of land to the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers in his state. It is only natural for a Swatantra leader to say it. But the landless and poor peasants and the agricultural labourers of Orissa cannot tolerate such a naked advocacy for the vested interests. They are to compel the Orissa Government to distribute land vested in the state as a result of land reforms legislation among them.

It must be said in this connection that those, who are waxing eloquent on the reduction of the land ceiling under the Orissa Act from 25 to 20 standard acres should do well to remember that as the provision fixing land ceiling to 25 standard acres had been circumvented by the big landholders through various unscrupulous means, this time also reducing the ceiling to 20 acres will be similarly circumvented.

Besides the land vested in the state as a result of land reforms legislation, there are other lands which should also be distributed among the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Orissa. Culturable wastelands belonging to the State Government amount to roughly 63.85 lakh acres. The culturable wastelands are of two types—one is fit for cultivation without much trouble while the other requires time and expenditure for reclamation. A large portion of the first category government wastelands is even now under the occupation by rich peasants, who are cultivating these lands without paying anything to the State Government for the use of such lands through underhand means. These lands should be immediately taken away from the rich peasants and distributed among and settled with the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Orissa.

Then again, there are so-called government forest lands. Their exact acreage in Orissa is not known. But in any event they will certainly not be less than several lakh acres. It is true that for conservation of soil and for rainfall the state should have a certain percentage of its total area under forest. The present area under forest in Orissa is sufficient for the purpose. Hence, without damage to the soil-conservation schemes and adversely affecting rainfall in the state, the several lakh acres of the so-called government forest lands can very well be distributed among the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Orissa.

Apart from the question of land distribution, there are other matters also. These relate to the questions of increasing the share of produce of the share-croppers, of checking eviction of the share-croppers from the land they cultivate, of making the right to cultivate land as share-cropper heritable, etc. There are also the questions of stopping disguised leasing of land, which is done to bypass certain provisions of the tenancy laws. All this requires the correction of land records on the basis of actual survey. That should be done without delay. Last but not least, there is the question of fixing the working hours and the minimum wages of the agricultural

STEP UP IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, DEFEAT CPI(M)'s WRONG POLITICS

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present left opportunist politics as correct. But Com. Banerjee in his speech made it perfectly clear that the SUC, being the only genuine Communist Party in India, his criticism of the wrong politics of the CPI(M) cannot be against communism as such. Rather for upholding the nobility of communism it was necessary to give defeat to the pseudo-communists, the CPI(M) and others moving with the signboard Communist—he said. Com. Banerjee even sounded a note of caution in his speech. He said that in the present international

labourers under the Minimum Wages Act. Unfortunately, the existing wages of the agricultural labourers, especially of the Adibasis, in Orissa are extremely low, not sufficient even to keep the body and soul together. There should, therefore, be statutorily fixed minimum wages, calculated in such a way as to cover the prevailing high cost of living, payment below which would be punishable. The agricultural labourers have work hardly for four months in a year in this state. So there is the necessity of taking up development works in large numbers so as to give work to the agricultural labourers throughout the year, failing which unemployment bonus should be paid to them.

These are most modest democratic demands which cannot be refused on any plea. Com. Nirode Ratha, Secretary, Orissa Krushak O Khet Majoor Federation, has called upon the landless and poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Orissa to close up their ranks, organise themselves under the leadership of the Krushak O Khet Majoor Federation and prepare for a sustained organised movement for the realisation of the above demands.

alignment of world social forces anti-communism would eventually push one into the lap of the imperialists and, consequently, no genuine democrat could afford to be against communism itself. This being the truth, to try to brand Com. Banerjee's speech as an example of anti-communist tirade is to indulge in lie. Our people should realise that the name, Communist, does not *ipso facto* make a party a real Communist Party. World history is now replete with instances where pseudo-communists have usurped the name Communist and, in the name of communism, are doing the greatest harm to communism.

Lastly, Nibaran Chakraverty by an oblique reference to Com. Banerjee has hinted that Com. Banerjee does not see eye to eye with Com. Ghosh. This silly comment deserves no discussion. This along with its writer should have a place in the dustbin. All what can be said in this connection is that this attempt to create difference among the leaders and ranks of the SUC will never succeed. For, it is a fundamentally different type of Party where groups and groupism cannot develop or exist. It is a Party where ideological centralisation, expressed in concrete form of leadership at the highest collective unit through Com. Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved General Secretary, has been achieved. Com. Banerjee is a member of that collective unit, a disciple of Com. Ghosh.

The campaign of hate by the CPI(M) leadership against the SUC on the basis of canard, slander and falsehood indicates the weakness of the former before our correct ideological struggles against the left opportunist policies of the CPI(M). The more intense these struggles will be, the more furious and rabidly anti-SUC the CPI(M) leadership will be and the more isolated from the people it will be. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of our workers, supporters and sympathisers to step up our propaganda work more vigorously, patiently and strictly according to the Party line.

CPI(M) IN THE EYE OF MONOPOLISTS

When the monopolists and their friends frequently praise a political party, it will be correct to presume that the party is not a real revolutionary working class party. It is reported that Mr. B. T. Ranadive, CPI(M) leader, in course of his address at the CITU open session, had confirmed it. We quote some testimonials praising the CPI(M) leaders. Will the ranks of the party draw appropriate conclusions from them?

When Mr. G. M. Modi, President, Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry at its forty-second annual session, in criticising the first UF Government in West Bengal, said: "The memories of the last UF Ministry are still fresh in our minds. Gheraos, strikes, lawlessness and social unrest made life difficult. They made mockery of our democratic institutions and traditions", delegates from West Bengal allayed fear about the second UF Government by saying that the above remark by the President did not reflect correct picture of West Bengal as they had been assured by the Chief Minister and Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal that no such thing would be repeated (Amrita Bazar Patrika dated March 16, 1962).

"I have not met Mr. Basu (Jyoti Basu—Editor, P.E.) till now. But European capitalists told me that they had been tremendously impressed by Mr. Basu."—Dhavan's broadcast (Amrita Bazar Patrika dated September 20, 1969)

Mr. B. K. Birla "said that CPI(M) leader Mr. Jyoti Basu was very much sympathetic towards the management as he (Basu) was convinced that the Birlas were willing to pay fair wages to the workers. But despite his efforts the workers continued intimidation and all types of indisciplined and objectionable behaviour." (Hindusthan Standard dated June 1, 1970)

Mr. K. T. Chandy, Chairman, Hindusthan Steel Limited, while talking to Press reporters in Calcutta on 11th June, 1970, released a statement to Press which stated that "a large number of labour problems and disputes were amicably settled through negotiations with this (HSEU) union and in course of 11 months 26 agreements were signed". It was further stated that "responsible leaders of the recognised HSEU here by and large started cooperating with the management in respect of actions taken against delinquents." * At the same time sections of workers who support the SUC, CPI and Naxalites seem to be working

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On Some International Questions

by Com. Shibdas Ghose
Rs. 2'00

Letter To The Editor

Dear sir,

I am an ordinary employee working in the Dalhousie Square area of Calcutta. Like many other white-collar employees working there I also believed that the CPI(M) would lead the toiling people of our country to power through revolution and, accordingly, was a supporter of that Party. I am now disillusioned about the CPI(M). But I am not a supporter of any other Party either, even though I appreciate your efforts to make the UF here function properly as an instrument of democratic movements against vested interests and reaction.

The purpose of this letter is not just to praise you for what you have done and are still doing to revive the UF in order to bring to an end the autocratic President's Rule in the State. The object of this letter is to express what I am feeling about the CPI(M).

The CPI(M) leaders, more often than not, accuse the CPI guilty of noticing progressive elements in the Indira Congress and of collaborating with the latter. There is no doubt that the CPI is guilty of it; the leaders of this party openly admit it in public meetings also. But the CPI(M) is equally guilty of it. Reference may be made in this connection

against the senior and sober sections of the leadership of the HSEU and *this is gradually weakening its strength.*" (Statesman, dated June 12, 1970. Emphasis ours—Editor, P.E.)

A meeting was held between the management of the HSL and the leaders of HSEU. Mr. Jyoti Basu was present at this meeting. "Mr. Basu was, however, reported to have made some 'very sensible suggestions' to the union leaders at the meeting." (Statesman dated June 12, 1970)

tion to the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) published in the People's Democracy dated 15th February last which *inter alia* contains "the Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its folds a healthy trend which hates big landlords and monopolists. Despite the support its leaders seek and receive from the foreign monopolists and Indian reactionaries, it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspirations of the people." Thus the CPI(M) also, like the CPI, believes in the existence of progressive elements and forces within the fold of the Indira Congress. Not only this, the CPI(M) also does not rule out the possibility of forming a political united front with a section of the Indira Congress. The following words, "pave the way for the development of a far broader front of the democratic forces, including a section of the Indira Gandhi Congress who are earnest about the struggle against the vested interest," in the Resolution referred to above prove it. Where then is the difference between the CP(M) and the CPI in their assessment of the Indira Congress?

Furthermore, I understand from newspapers as also from the Proletarian Era that the CPI(M) openly worked for the Indira Congress candidate against your Party candidate (there was no third candidate) in the Dholai by-election in Assam held in April last. It similarly openly supported the Indira Congress candidates against your Party candidates (there was no left candidates other than the SUC candidates in the Julana and Bahadurgarh by-elections in Haryana held in the month of June last. The CPI is, no doubt, a revisionist party collaborating with the Indira Congress and finding progressive section in it. The CPI(M), therefore, must also be revisionist. Will the ranks of the Party kindly think over it?

Yours truly,
Ashit Mukherjee
Calcutta—26

CAPITALISM BREEDS PERIODICAL CRISES BIHAR POLICE'S MALICIOUS ATTACK ON SUC WORKER

(Continued from page 2)

artificial stimulation of increased defence production to keep the existing industries anyhow running and maintain at least the existing level of production. A look into the budget position will reveal it. Before the Indo-China border clash, defence expenditure of our country was Rs 289.54 crores while it is Rs. 1017.84 crores, according to the current financial year (1970-71) budget, indicating more than three and a half times rise. But when our people are almost pauper, when the minimum benefits, which the people of even backward capitalist countries elsewhere enjoy, are being denied to them on the plea of shortage of fund by the Governments, when ministers, high officials and Congress leaders are loudly talking of peace, this huge expenditure on defence, just to help the monopolists to tide over their crisis, is sure to be resisted by the toiling people. So, in order to forestall this resistance of the people and have a smooth sailing, the slogan of "the country is in danger" has been raised, tension created, border clashes engineered and mass psychology in favour of increasing military strength developed, exploiting all the time the patriotic feeling of our people and fanning national jingoism to the utmost. Thus, the ruling capitalist class of our country has killed two birds with one stone—it has succeeded in helping the monopolists to keep up their profit (in many cases even to increase their profit) without any resistance from the people and at the same time in getting many times stronger the military strength of the Indian capitalist state, wedded primarily to the task of defending capitalist rule here against any possible

revolutionary mass upsurge for seizure of power by the people.

But there is a limit to the artificial stimulation. When the limit is crossed, artificially created boom is followed by crash; concerns producing defence materials and articles of ancillary branches suddenly are faced with no order from the Government and no market for them. The result is closure of industrial establishments, either closure proper or lock-out under the garb of closure to circumvent certain provisions of law, or closure of some branches instead of the entire establishment, or stoppage of some shifts or curtailment of normal production by not utilising fully the installed productive capacity, all leading to one thing, namely, throwing thousands of workmen out of employment to starve, emaciate and die a premature death. This is exactly what happened particularly in case of our engineering industry. And if the workers try to resist this attack on them and to change the situation somewhat to their advantage by organised struggle just to keep their body and soul together then they are accused by the vested interests, their men in the administration and their 'intellectual' flunkies in the Press of indulging in indiscipline and acting against national interests, as if nation constitutes the handful of exploiters only and not the ninety-nine per cent of the population in the country who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. These well-fed high-ups in society demand peace of the workers, meaning that the latter should not try to foil the employers' move to throw the workers out of employment and starve them to death but should, rather, court

(By a Staff Reporter)

On the plea of anti-Naxalite drive the Bihar police has been harassing the workers and supporters of the SUCI in the state. We cite here an instance of such harassment by the police.

Com, Shiv Shankar of Basulpur under Kanti P.S. in the district of Muzaffarpur, a trusted worker of our Party, had been arrested by police in connection with a case of dacoity with murder at Narsinghpur in the same district alleged to have been committed by some Naxalites. The ill motive of the local police will be evident from the fact that Com. Shiv Shankar had been all through at Patna from 2nd to 24th July whereas the crime was

committed on 4th July in the year 1969.

The matter was brought to the notice of the Governor of the state through a memorandum by the Secretary of the Bihar State Committee of the SUCI with no result. Justice demands that the case against Com. Shiv Shankar and his poor old father should be dropped to save them from further harassment. We request the left and democratic parties in Bihar to take up the matter and force the Government to drop the case.

Administrative Reforms Commission—A Colossal Wastage of Public Money

About four and a half years back the Administrative Reforms Commission was set up with Shri Morarji Desai as its Chairman. Shri Desai left the post at a fairly early stage when he became a minister. Thereafter Shri Hanumanthaiya occupied the chair. Recently the Commission has become *functus officio*.

It is reported that during its life time the Commission had made 537 recommendations for administrative reforms, ninety per cent of which are claimed by the Commission to have been accepted by the Government. Heaven alone knows what difference they have made to the tone of the administration!

with open arms the employers' move peacefully. Such peace is peace of the grave, surrender to starvation and death without protest, without struggle against social injustice. No human being with even a minimum sense of dignity and of social responsibility and purpose of life can adopt such an ignominious stand. Periodical crises prove that capitalist society has outlived itself and that a new society, where there will be no exploitation of man by man, should replace the existing one based on injustice. It is the bounden social responsibility of the people to fight for that social change.

Notwithstanding the implementation of the ninety per cent of its recommendations by the Government, the common men's experience is that corruption has become more naked and rampant, red tapism increased many times, standard of services appreciably gone down, indifference to public complaints risen to Himalayan height, intrigues by officers against each other for position, power and pelf have become everyday affair, the net result being virtual collapse of work and unprecedented sufferings of the people born of administrative callousness. Our people have, of course, the satisfaction that they could afford the luxury of maintaining the Commission for four years and a half at a cost Rs. 67 lakhs up to the end of March this year to which several lakhs of rupees should be added as expenses for three more months to arrive at the total cost. A colossal wastage of public money indeed!